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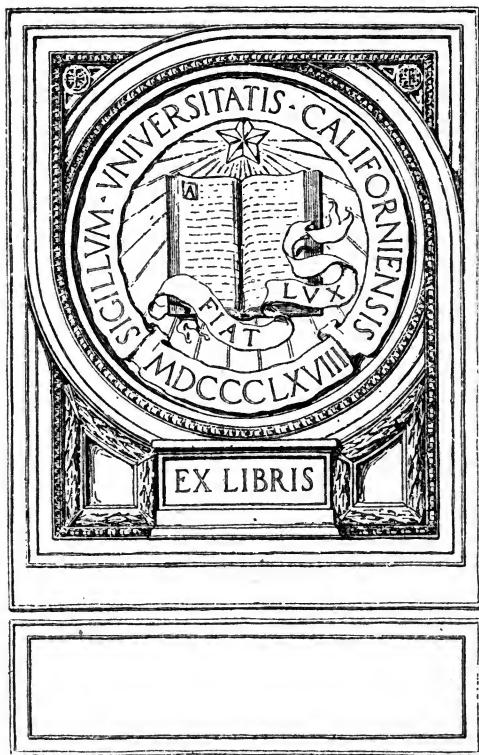
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KRAUSE'S
LEAGUE FOR HUMAN RIGHT
AND THEREBY
WORLD PEACE

CEAY MacCAULEY

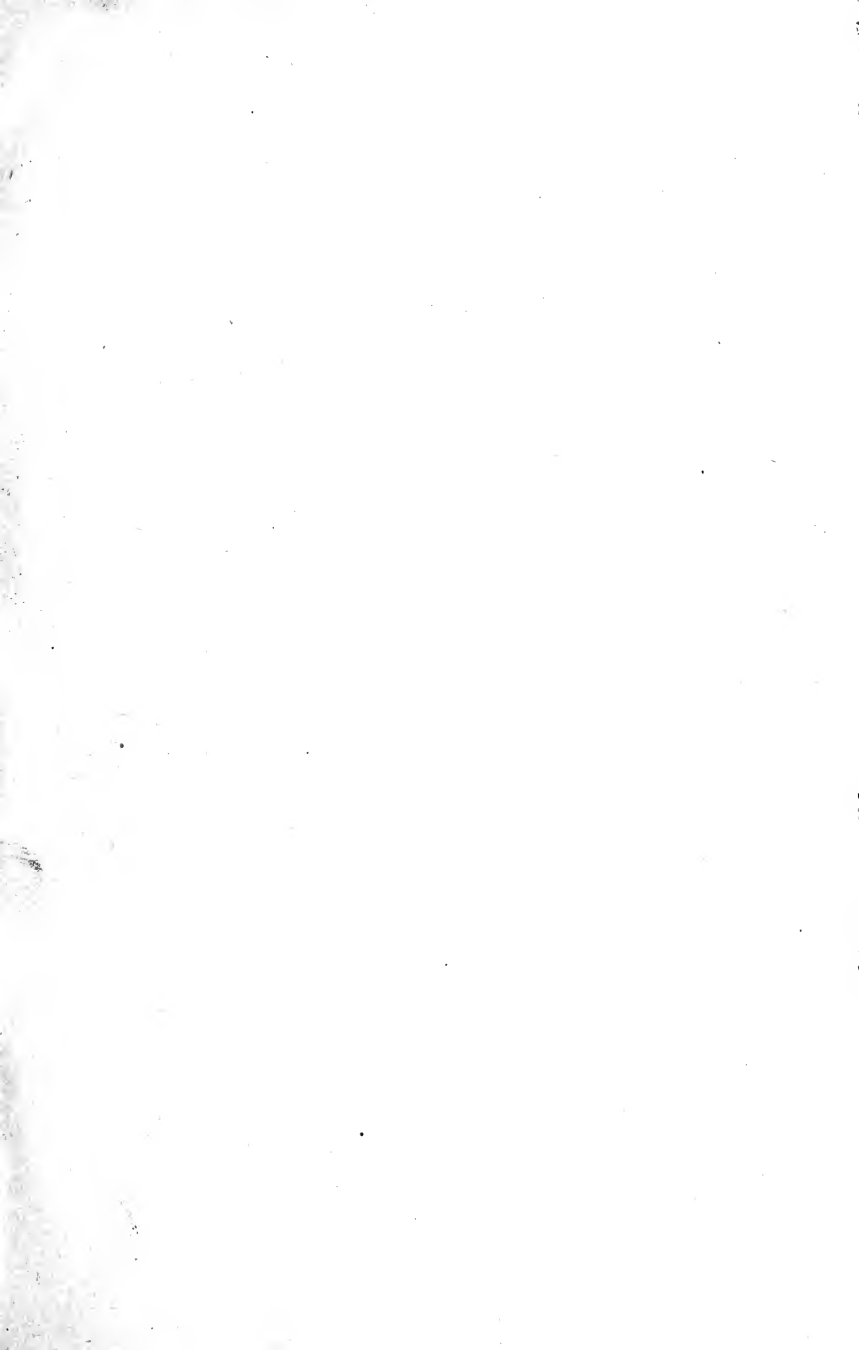
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KRAUSE'S
LEAGUE FOR HUMAN RIGHT
AND THEREBY
WORLD PEACE

I pray God that if this contest has no other result, it will at least have the result of creating an International Tribunal, and of producing some sort of joint guarantee of peace on the part of the great Nations of the world."

Woodrow Wilson

CLAY MACCAULEY

Mita, Tokyo, Japan

1917

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INTRODUCTION

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THE World Court idea is not new. It has been the thought of eminent men—scholars, churchmen, publicists, occasionally statesmen—at intervals for generations. William Penn put forward, in 1693, a plan to prevent wars. In 1795, the famous German philosopher, Immanuel Kant, published his essay on "Perpetual Peace," a fundamental conception in which was that wars would not cease until all the governments of the world were democratic. The great English lawyer, Jeremy Bentham, 1789, whose speculations fertilized so many departments of law and social endeavor, likewise elaborated a plan. Other men at other times, before and since these, have turned their thoughts to this subject.

In America we have had men such as Elihu Burritt and Charles Sumner who have influenced, not only the people of America, but of the whole world. The first Peace Society was formed in New York, 1815, followed by one in England the ensuing year. It was Burritt who organized the Brussels Congress of Friends of Peace in 1848, and this was followed by the important gatherings in Paris, Frankfurt, London, Manchester, and Edinburgh. The great Congress in Paris, 1849, was presided over by Victor Hugo.

Then there burst upon the world a series of wars, beginning with the Crimean War and the war in Italy, followed by the Austro-Prussian War and the Franco-Prussian War; and the peace movement was stilled for a full generation.

Theodore Marburg.

1915.

GREAT world events of profound importance are now preparing. The increasing interdependence of the Nations is creating new international rights and duties. But there is no World Legislature to recognize and legalize them; there is no World Court to interpret and apply them; and there is no World Executive to enforce and vitalize them. Precisely here appears one of the most obscure and, at the same time, one of the most potent causes of the war.

The new world life means, sooner or later, a World Consciousness, a World Conscience, a World Ethics, and a World Court, together with the other departments of an organized political life embodied in a Federation of the World.

Josiah Strong.

1915.

INTRODUCTION.

Among books that came into my possession during student days in Germany, in the early "Seventies," were some copies of a magazine named *Die Neue Zeit*, The New Age. This publication was the organ of an exceptionally interesting group of thinkers, social reformers, educators and progressive religious idealists whose inspirer and, in many ways, unquestioned guide was a man, who, after a short life of arduous labor and of endurance of severe political and scholastic antagonism and even persecution, died just as a career of opulent justification and reward seemed to be opening for him.

Whether or not Karl Christian Friedrich Krause would ever have had a wide acceptance among the leaders of politics and of philosophy in his native Germany, is a question very difficult of answer, in that he was, throughout, inspired by a far advanced ideal of political and intellectual

freedom as man's birthright. Consequently, he could never have become satisfied with the Dynastic Monarchy which seemed then to be irresistibly persistent in aiming at the control of the German peoples; nor could he ever have complied with the subservience which the then most favored leaders of philosophy and of social speculation in his country were showing to the ecclesiastical and educational officials who were dependent upon the favor of the Family long-regnant Prussia.

And more than this, Krause's career was seriously crippled by the opposition of a wide spread beneficent fraternity which, because of a misunderstanding now unquestioned as such, met him, with obstacles to his advancement, at almost every turn he made in his later professional career. This misunderstanding was fully cleared away after Krause's death; and, so far as could be, it has been amply atoned for. But, certainly during Krause's life time, it was a barrier to what, other-

wise, might have gained for him a far wider recognition; and an influential leadership both personally and as a thinker.

I am hoping that, at some time not far distant, I may be able to give to readers of English a measurably intelligible account of the life and thought of this wonderful apostle of human freedom and of the high calling of mankind in the development of social order and advancement of spiritual ideals. It would be only an act of justice to the memory of one of the really exalted and prophetic minds of the past century to do this. Also, possibly, a widely extended knowledge of his insight and faith might be of some real help to many earnest men to-day who are trying to find a better guidance for men and peoples than at present the multitudes are following.

In a way, as a contribution to this personal wish, I have summarized in the last two articles which compose this pamphlet, one of Krause's youthful essays which has just now become extraordinarily

timely. I happened upon this essay recently in turning over the pages of "The New Age" in a search for other information.

The reproduction of Krause's Proposal here given, I know, is quite inadequate as an exhibit of its original expression; and, probably, I have not fully, or even always correctly, interpreted the writer. But, in the main, I am confident that I have made clear the far-reaching and profound proposition whose realization Krause believed would tend to bring to mankind the peace and welfare that all sincere and aspiring human beings long for, however much they may be misled to do violence to their instinctive beneficent desire. Krause, as other of his writings show, saw, even farther than he has indicated in this Proposal, into the sublime principle that is needed to secure an everlasting peace upon earth. But in the League he advocated he seems to have set forth that which appeared to him to be a possibility, consequent upon the

benevolent resolve of the victorious Rulers and Peoples of his own troubled times, declared by them as regulative of the new internationalism they were soon to make a reality. As after events came to pass and had their effect, Krause's seeming faith was proven to be much more a product of his aspiring vision and wish than of fact.

However, as this Proposal was then earnestly offered and remains upon record as a plea for a boon which this great lover of his fellow-men seems to have thought that human promise had made possible in his time,—a hundred years ago,—I think that it may be repeated to-day as a source of encouragement, or at least as a stimulus for the many who are now waiting for the cessation of the mighty present struggle among Europe's leading Nations, and for the new venture that is therewith to be made to secure an abiding peace for mankind. Whether or not Krause's plea, or some other akin to it, shall have a more sympathetic hearing in our day than that of Krause had a

hundred years ago, or whether there will be again most generous promises given by the Powers through whose success the present conflict will close, only that the course of past events is to be repeated, no one can foretell. But it is well, I think, to listen to Krause's voice as of one among the many that are to-day heard, pleading that this latest mortal struggle of the Nations shall come to an end, and as of one of those who are daring to hope that, this time certainly, some real and permanent advance towards the longed for blessedness of peace on earth will be made. Surely, all sincere men ought to give earnest heed to the fact, which was Krause's profound conviction, that however peace may be secured, and however it may be guarded, there can never be any actually abiding peace among the world's nations, until "the Powers that be" clearly see and loyally serve, as supreme over all international intercourse, the principle and practice of Human Right.

When the editor of *Die Neue Zeit*, in 1873, republished Krause's far-seeing and seemingly justified plea to the Allied Nations of Europe of 1814, he added this explanatory note:—

“ In our time (1873) we have witnessed an especially gratifying, but not enough celebrated example of the settlement of a portentous struggle, within the province of Right, between two of the mightiest of the earth's peoples, British and American.”

The Alabama Claims Commission is here referred to; a tribunal which, in September 1872, settled peacefully a most threatening question then under discussion between Great Britain and the United States of America.

“ May this great event long encourage those who have doubted a peaceful issue possible for such things ; and may it also do much to bring about a Court of Arbitration among Christian peoples as a permanent institution, and so extend the idea of Right in the intercourse of the Nations.

“ We consider it timely now to rescue from oblivion, and to publish, a pertinent

proposal made by Krause at the time of the defeat and expulsion from Europe of the first Napoleon.

“This proposition of Krause’s is not given as an absolutely ideal offering for securing the right intercourse of the world’s nations; but it does bear upon the present unjust conditions prevalent among the peoples of Europe. Krause did not undertake the impossibility, in his age, of wholly setting aside war, but only to advance the possibility for the Nations, in most cases, to avoid war.

“However, this proposal is fully ideal so far as it puts forward and holds fast, the principle that Right should go before Might; that, absolutely, Might may not be made coincident with Right, in that the strong, just State is summoned to protect the weak. Krause’s proposal is, also, ideal in that it is directed toward the ethical-religious sense, the noble side of men and of Nations.”

This renewal of Krause’s plea, in 1873 among the nations of Europe, was without decisive effect, just as it was in 1814. Moreover, in the present year the world is convulsed by the most widely extended and most terribly destructive war of all

the wars that have ever afflicted mankind. In all seeming, such vision and such an appeal as that of Krause is, still in these days, among all things, most vain and barren of authority, or even of attraction, for the allegiance of mankind.

Yet, who that really knows the course of human events can fail to see that "through the ages an increasing purpose runs";—a purpose whose consummation can mean nothing less than, at some time, peace come as a blessing to an ennobled Humanity seeking to be loyal to Human Right.

Once I gave judgment concerning "Signs of Peace for the World," which in large part I am prompted to repeat now.

* * * * *

"There is no source of expectation, or of prophecy, so reliable as the facts of the past.

"How much meaning consequently, lies in the fact, now universal among civilized peoples,—a fact without which no Social Order had ever been possible,—that individual men and women are forbidden, under

severe penalties, to engage in mortal combat with one another for the purpose of settling personal disputes. Self-defense against assault is the only legal justification at present for the individual's use of physical force, or deadly weapons, against his fellow man. But, only in the recent past, the duel was almost everywhere legally endorsed, and honored as a social custom. In medieval Europe, for instance, the knights-errant were lauded subjects of the State, and accepted communicants of the Church. Within the generation just passed, in so advanced a community as that of the United States of America, a code of honor prevailed under which individual citizens were often compelled to meet in encounters which usually meant death. And even to-day it is the fact in some of the countries of Continental Europe, that the deadly duel is still a part of custom, particularly among military men. Yet, in all civilized lands, it has come to pass that the duel is under ban of the law, and, excepting in the last mentioned group, it has been everywhere excluded from social favor. Civilized Society has to this extent progressed towards universal peace. So much at least does the record of Social Evolution show.

“But further, this is true. It is no longer

allowable among enlightened peoples that groups of the members of a State, as, for example, families, villages, towns and cities, may array themselves against one another in armed conflict. The vendetta, family feuds, armed struggles of industrial workers and their like, once were commonplace among the most civilized communities. But now the universal verdict of legislatures and the courts is, that these things are intolerable relics of barbarism ; that they are to be suppressed and their participants punished. Not very long ago, however, the vendetta was an acknowledged social arbiter ; and the forays of barons, counts and local lords were accepted political methods, even within the domains of kings and emperors.

“ Also, it is true, that within the past century it was a debated question whether or not the separate States of the American Union were sovereign entities, or subordinated parts of a great federation. Now, this question is no longer under debate. The American States are, by universal legal obligation, subordinate to their Union and are interdependent. Independent action taken by any one of them against the common welfare is treasonable and rebellious. Armed conflict with one another, or against the federal whole, is

no longer legally or morally allowable. All persistent differences among them must be adjudicated by their Supreme Court. The forty-eight States of the American Union are under compulsion to keep the peace, each with all the others.

“And not in America, only, has this marvellous advance towards peace on earth been made, out of an age of almost universal war, but also in all lands where civilized people dwell. The world’s dominant Powers at last have come to hold every individual, all families, all guilds, all towns, all cities, all the provinces, and all their subordinated states and realms, under bonds to keep the peace with one another. So much, further, does the record of Social Evolution show.

“There are parts of the world, we know, where factional wars, rebellions, revolutions still find place; but the magnificent fact abides, nevertheless, and grows mightier every year as distinctive of advancing civilization, that the mortal strife once common among the subjects and citizens of the Nations, either as individuals, or as parts of the general body politic, are lawless and are to be prevented, or suppressed, by the federated power. Evidently, then, one of the greatest modern movements made in the development

of mankind, has been Society's progress away from a condition of frequent inter-social and armed strife towards one of a more comprehensive State control, under the peaceful methods of law.

“Speaking of Civilized Humanity in this Twentieth Century, we can say with truth that the only legally recognized and honored parties which may now engage in mutual mortal conflict are the Nations considered as units. The Sovereign States as wholes:—the empires, kingdoms, and republics,—the recognized, independent, political wholes,—these are the only human entities which, under a universally accepted code of honor and law, may now array themselves against one another in deadly warfare.

“What a marvellous change this is in the relations of men with men! Lawful battle to the death; the lawful killing of man by man for the purpose of settling questions of privilege and right; the act of mortal conflict, which only in a not remote past was the honored privilege of even individual men and women; of families, too; of small groups within the domains of kings and even of popes;—this terrible privilege has at length been confined, under law and by popular consent, to such few aggregations of mankind as the world's Nations.

“ This fact, terrible and horrible though it be, is it not a magnificent forward move towards peace for the world ? The human race has already come so far in its evolution, that under its Civilized Leadership it has actually forbidden to all of its individual members, or to groups subordinate to the independent Nations, any appeal to mortal combat for the settlement of questions in dispute.

“ Moreover, it is not in the way of the ages, that an end may come to the meliorating forces at work in the world.

“ ‘ Through the ages an increasing purpose runs.’ *Having come so far towards peace, Humanity is not likely to fix for its future the awful fact that even the Sovereign States may perpetuate war.*

There is no valid reason why the further step shall not be taken, whereby the Nations themselves shall agree that over all human relations the Arbitrament of Law shall be made supreme. The time has come when multitudes are convinced, that the world’s dominant Powers shall prepare for a world-inclusive submission to a Code of International Law administered by a Court having International Jurisdiction, whose decision shall be made binding among all empires, kingdoms, republics, tribes and clans, just as now,

within the separate Nations, imperative Law has been made operative throughout. This move forward towards the ideal Social Order is only the natural and legitimate next step in human progress.

“Are there any signs that the World-Powers are becoming willing to make this move? At least this much by way of an affirmative answer may be given. It has come to pass that the possible sources of conflict between Nations have so lessened in number that there remains now, speaking generally, but one.

“In fact, about the only really forceful cause that can be put forward in this century for carrying on war between separated Nations, and which can be regarded as having a legitimate standing, in the judgment of mankind, arises from the hazards of International Commerce.

“And strangely, this chief possible source of war is, potentially, one of the greatest benefactors mankind have ever known; and one of the mightiest of the active agencies that are guiding mankind into the realm of universal peace. International communication, including international trade, international language, art and literature, interpolitical influence

and example, all demand that permanent peace be gained and maintained throughout the earth.

“ In the channels of International Commerce the best achievements of every part of mankind are becoming world possessions:—the means of transportation, for instance, steamships and railways, motor cars and airships; the improved agencies of intelligence,—the printing press and telegraph, telephone and ethergraph; the arts and sciences, mechanical and æsthetic; the most productive means of agriculture, mining and manufacture. And then there is the constantly increasing travel of tourists and of students; the general migration and interchange of residence among peoples of all lands. All these and many more kindred factors, operating in the world's Modern Internationalism, have brought new forces and effects into Human Evolution.

“ The most wholesome and the permanent result of the working of these forces includes in it a co-operation and a prosperous progress, which depend upon freedom for all, and on opportunity among all, “ to live and to let live.”

“ The New Internationalism, we must admit, has often been the occasion for critical misunderstandings, and lamentable

consequent abuses. It has given rise to tragic racial antipathies and antagonisms ; it has led to encroachments by the strong nations over weak and backward peoples, and at times to disastrous strife and oppression. But by far the larger and better, and the permanent, results of this world-including Internationalism has been a growing mutual acquaintanceship and helpfulness among peoples hitherto isolated ; an increasingly fairer exchange of properties and products ; an improving adjustment of aims and needs ; and, above all, a growing acknowledgment of common interests which are to be honestly respected and protected. In fact, under present conditions there is rapidly culminating in the world, and among the most diverse peoples, an equalizing of knowledge, a co-ordinative regulation of desires and duties, of abilities and achievements. The world's peoples are all advancing under Modern Internationalism to a common arena, where, in Science, Art, Commerce, Ethics, Religion and ways of Government, they will sooner or later be made ready to agree to act as co-operative members in a real Federation of Mankind. The mightiest sign of approach towards universal peace for the world is just the all comprehensive Internationalism that

has become distinctive of the present century."

* * * * *

These judgments I made in an address that I delivered but four years ago. It was in the year immediately following, that the present awful struggle among many Nations was precipitated by a deliberate resolve of the military autocracy of the German Empire. This conflict is to-day raging with full violence; and all the progress for mankind that I saw only four years ago, now seems to have come to stop. In fact, a reversal to man's ancient savagery seemingly has been made.

But I am convinced that it would be lamentably short-sighted for us to let the past cherished hope and its signs of promise for the establishment of Right and the coming of Peace to mankind fail us even to-day, when the most deadly of wars has been roused and the worst of passions appear to have mastered much of mankind.

I am more than ever persuaded, as I

remember the course of events in past ages, that there was in it a persistent and mighty movement of Humanity towards the goal of Human Right and to a consequent peace for the world. That movement will ere long, I believe, again become manifest, and will go far to convince mankind that their approach to a World Peace is not to be seen only in the visions of mere dreamers. And I repeat my conviction ;—

“ The day is not far from its dawn when it will be decided by Mankind that wars must stop, or that the Peoples who engage in them will be branded as transgressors of Law, under penalties which a fully authorized International Supreme Court will have power to impose.”

“ The demand is fast becoming not only urgent, but imperative, that an International League shall be formed, in which there shall be an empowered Tribunal for the adjudication of controversies between Nations that shall be recognized and accepted as final. Mankind can not much longer bear the present increasing financial burden, piled up because of the development of the militarism

of the Nations. It spells ruin for real industrial, commercial and social prosperity. If for no better reason than self-preservation in the other relations of Society, this burden must be lightened, if not wholly removed.

“It is with a reasonable, with even an assured hope, then, that I look upon the movements now abroad for the promotion of peace throughout the world. To-day, more than in any other era of human history, the promise has become sure, that the dominion of Justice among men and of Peace on the earth is to prevail everywhere.

“Even should this promise fail for the near future, and the present turgid militarism of the Nations, by some evil move in politics, be forced again into active hostilities, its very violence, I dare believe, and the devastation wrought by it in the midst of the splendid achievements of Humanity’s New Internationalism, would in that day, and only the more speedily, ‘bring deliverance withal.’”

So, then, it is not merely as an interesting, personally memorable fact of the past century that I reproduce in these present momentous and portentous days, the

beneficent Proposal vainly made by Krause to the European Allies of his time ; and again ineffectively published, as the modern Empire of Germany was beginning its career of aggressive expansion, forty years ago. More than all else, I wish to repeat Krause's plea now that it may possibly find place as one among the accepted influences which, at the coming close of the present International struggle, are to give direction to the movement of the Nations in the new Era they are then to begin.

CLAY MACCAULEY.

March, 1917,
Tokyo, Japan.

Krause's
League for Human Right
and thereby
World Peace

WAR.

They err, who count it glorious to subdue
By conquest far and wide ; to overrun
Large countries ; and in field great battles win,
Great cities by assault : What do these worthies
But rob, and spoil, burn, slaughter, and enslave
Peaceable nations, neighboring or remote,
Made captive, yet deserving freedom more
Than those their conquerors, who leave behind
Nothing but ruin wheresoe'er they rove,
And all the flourishing works of peace destroy ;
Then swell with pride, and must be titled gods,
Great benefactors of mankind, deliverers,
Worshiped with temple, priest, and sacrifice.
One is the son of Jove, of Mars the other ;
Till conqueror Death discovers them scarce men,
Rolling in brutish vices, and deformed,
Violent or shameful death their due reward.

But if there be in glory aught of good,
It may by means far different be attained,
Without ambition, war, or violence ;
By deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent,
By patience, temperance.

From " Paradise Regained."

JOHN MILTON,

1671.

KRAUSE'S LEAGUE FOR HUMAN RIGHT AND THEREBY WORLD PEACE.

PART FIRST.

OCCASION FOR THE PROPOSED LEAGUE.

One hundred years ago, the " War of Liberation " waged by North Germany, culminating in the " Battle of the Nations " at Leipzig in the autumn of 1813, marked the real overthrow of Napoleon Bonaparte. During the previous twenty years, Bonaparte had grown to be the military monarch of Europe. The revolution of the people of France against feudalism and their hereditary monarchy beginning in 1789, followed by the war made upon them by the other monarchs of Europe, because of their execution of their king, Louis XVI., was the occasion of Napoleon's rise to leadership and speedily to dictatorial power. He became leader of the French armies against the Powers hostile to France. In 1804, crowning himself Emperor, he established an absolute military sovereignty over France and began to annex and to rule, through his own crowned agents, the other nations of the

continent. Even Prussia succumbed to his aggression after Jena and Austerlitz, in 1806, and was compelled to witness his entrance into Berlin as the country's conqueror.

Four years later, England was in alliance with Austria against France. But, resolute to bring all Europe under his will, the French Autocrat then invaded Russia. From that country, however, he was compelled to make a disastrous retreat. In the next year, 1813, at Leipzig he was at last overpowered. The retreating French were pursued by their victors to Paris, where, on April 6, 1814, Napoleon abdicated his throne and was sent, as an exile, to the island of Elba. The victorious allies, Great Britain, Austria, Russia and Prussia, arranged at Chaumont on the Marne, March 1, 1814, the preliminaries of a treaty of peace with the fallen monarch; carrying their purposes farther forward in the "Treaty of Paris," April 11, when Napoleon had renounced his sovereignty. Then they came to an agreement to send plenipotentiaries to meet at Vienna in the autumn, that they might make fully definite, and complete, the provisions that had been accepted in "The Treaty of Paris."

Napoleon's return from Elba; his resumption of Imperial power; the rallying to him of the French army; his final struggle against the Allied Nations; his utter defeat at Waterloo, June 18, 1815, and his

banishment for life to St. Helena, made only a vain, though a mighty, anticlimax for his stupendous, portentous career.

AN ETHICAL POLITICAL EXPERIENCE.

All Europe, because of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Dynasty, had passed through a momentous ethical political experience. Among the Germans, for instance, an intense longing for social unity and constitutional government had been awakened. A sense of national brotherhood began to pervade the many German States. The King of Prussia, though a Hohenzollern, was led to promise his people a Constitution. Among the German universities, especially, there arose a strong agitation for personal and political liberty.

With surprising significance, the Sovereigns of the Allied Nations seemed, then, to be moved by an exalted desire to restore peace to Europe upon a settled basis of justice and equity ; to re-establish the authority of law in place of arbitrary personal will ; to reinstate rightful owners, communities and persons, into their own properties ; to reduce military establishments ; to create anew a balance of power among the European States by which the greatest among them might be restrained and the least of them protected. The negotiations for "The Treaty of Paris," and the bases then sent to be the foundations of the struc-

ture to be elaborated by "The Treaty of Vienna," had for their avowed purpose a stable equilibrium for the peoples of Europe, and security for their future peace and prosperity.

"THE HOLY ALLIANCE."

As a further and as the most significant sign of the spirit of that new age, the "Treaty of Vienna" was accompanied, September 26, 1815, by the creation of "The Holy Alliance" in which the Emperors of Austria, and of Russia and the King of Prussia, avowedly united and promised one another to "remain bound together in the bonds of true and brotherly love; "to deal with all their political and personal interests by Christian principles," with a view to perpetuating the peace which had been achieved; "to help mutually and to assist each other"; "to govern their peoples like fathers of families, and to maintain religion, peace and justice in their dominions." All the potentates of Europe excepting the Pope and the Sultan of Turkey were invited to be partners in this sacred compact.

What, as the years passed, became of "The Imperial Holy Alliance," so beneficent and inspiring in avowal and promise, does not now concern us.

KARL CHRISTIAN FRIEDRICH KRAUSE.

I have taken this glance at the momentous course

of the political forces and their consequences in Europe a hundred years ago, especially that I may make more clear the *raison d'être* and the purport of a political Proposal then made to the European Sovereigns and peoples by a teacher of philosophy at the time lecturing in Berlin. This man, for ample reason not at all to his own discredit, is but little known to fame; yet, as time passes, he is receiving recognition as one of the best men in character and in exaltation of ideals for the well-being of Humanity, and as one of the greatest men, in power and depth of thinking, that have ever lived: I speak of Karl Christian Friedrich Krause.

Krause was born in 1781, and died in 1832, just as he was about to become professor in the University at Munich. His life, consequently, was coincident with the whole of that marvellous revolution among the peoples of Europe of which I have made a slight retrospect. As a philosopher whose philosophic aim was, above all, the betterment of human life, Krause was profoundly interested in the political changes of the time; in the effects of the political forces then most effective, and in the means that could be found and made possible of service for the peace and happiness of distressed Mankind. He knew, of course, of the efforts that good and wise men had been making to spread principles of right and of social justice among the Nations;—offering

plans that might work deliverance and prosperity for them. For instance, in his writings he shows that he felt the high purpose and hope of Kant's essay on "Everlasting Peace."

But he, too, had in vision an ideal which, if realized, he was sure would bring about man's deliverance from the woes that were oppressing the world.

KRAUSE'S INTERNATIONAL PROPOSAL.

In 1806 Krause first received his ideal, when the thrones of Europe were falling before the assaults of the newly made Emperor of France; and Europe's Kings were allying themselves for a restoration of their own seats of dominion. Then, in 1814, seemingly, Krause came to feel that the reinforced and successful Allied Sovereigns, in regaining their thrones, were being moved by such lofty aims, and were giving such benevolent promises to their emancipated peoples, that there might be a way devised through which Justice, in the full sense of the word, could receive homage from both Rulers and their peoples, and thereby a true ideal of national and international peace and welfare be realized.

Actuated, probably, by this motive, the aspiring thinker published over his name, in the months of June and July, 1814, in Berlin, in the *Deutsche Blaetter*, dated May 24, just after Napoleon's exile,

and while the Allies were formulating their generous plans for the future welfare of Europe,—

“ A Proposition for a European League of States, as a Basis for Universal Peace, and as a Just Defense Against All Attacks Upon the Inner and Outer Peace of Europe.”

The aim of this Proposal, said Krause, was to show how to make the Alliance of the chief Powers of Europe, just effected, permanent and useful ; how to attract other Powers to it ; and how to create a League of the States of Europe, for war and for peace, that should be just and indestructible.

If a true European League could be effected in spite of the aggressive antagonism of France, he said, then the just freedom of Europe, and thereby, in time, the freedom of all the peoples of the earth would be assured. By means of a League of States, made in accordance with the idea of a justly organized Humanity, —at the time apparently made possible because of the high-purposed Alliance that had been achieved by the leading States of Europe,—a universal peace might be the issue. *Only in this way could such peace be secured*, he declared.

Moreover a League, so formed, would arouse in other and aggressive States a wholesome fear ; it would induce in them respect for its just principles ; and, thereby, it would tend to make the power of right and of love more and more a bond of union among

the Nations, advancing the interests of popular justice and freedom.

The Sovereigns of Russia, of Austria, of Prussia, of England and of Sweden, supported by their peoples, had just completed a great work tending in this direction. Now, if they will, they can bring to pass a yet greater and more fameworthy achievement.

The fulfilment of such a League of Nations might all the more be expected from these recently associated States, since, in their present Alliance, they had not deprived any of their component States of any existing right. This Alliance could be continued in the League; carrying forward all the forms that are peculiar to the present systems of government in the several States; preserving for them their differing special advantages fully as well as the most splendid conquests could promise. Moreover, for the sake of bringing itself into being and perpetuating itself, the present Alliance had in no way made necessary the sacrifice by any of its Members of any inherent national power or prestige.

PART SECOND.

CONDITIONS FOR THE PROPOSED LEAGUE.

Before Krause formulated the Articles that he thought should be embodied in the Constitution of

the International League which current events seemed to have made possible, he gave an extended statement of what he considered to be reasons by which the League would be justified ; he also defined its fundamental characteristics.

Naturally, Krause's Proposal, being the work of a philosophical idealist, assumed, for those Rulers and Legislators who were able to make it a practical reality, a greatness and a generosity of thought and of aim far surpassing the judgment and the efforts which had been dominant in Europe during the preceding generation. But, idealism in human relationships and a longing for deliverance from the horrors of the immediate past were seemingly uppermost in the avowed purposes of the chief Leaders of the time, and were, apparently, promising to become master-forces among the peoples of the victorious States. Seeing these things, Krause found a reasonable encouragement to set forth his supreme solution of the all-important problem.

I shall not translate at length the introduction to the Articles that Krause formulated for the Constitution which he commended for the regulation of the new International League. But, that his sublime conception of what Mankind should do, and at some time, as he believed, can do, to make human life,—individual, social and international,—peaceful and prosperous, I will freely summarize the conditions which guided him in defining his proposition.

This summary has exceptional interest and value to-day, in that it shows not only what a great lover of his fellowmen sought to do for his kind more than a hundred years ago ; but, further, *how much Krause did, definitely, in anticipation of many of the efforts that have been made, in recent years, at such International Congresses as those which have been gathered at The Hague ; and in what is now moving some of the world's leading thinkers and national guides, notably, the President of the great American Republic, in specializing their desire for the incoming of national and international justice and peace.*

RIGHT, AS THE ONE INTERNATIONAL BOND.

In Krause's judgment, the one necessary and fundamental regulative purpose that should direct the then forming League of States, and, indeed, the condition of any International League that could ever have lasting value and achieve a pacific end, must be *the establishment and the support of Right.*

The proposer meant that Right should be the one, the only, and the all-dominant bond of the International Alliance which, with the most exalted professions, was then being proclaimed for Europe.

WITHIN RIGHT EACH NATION TO BE FREE.

And, Krause insisted, it should always be understood and accepted by the Allied States that, in all

relationships, *where this common principle of Right did not limit them, they should each remain internally and externally free*; each of the component peoples of the League should be left wholly free to develop its own distinctive life only the more fully, in accordance with its own distinguishing character and aims.

Several such leagues, Krause hoped, might in time, be formed among the world's many Nations; and, at last, a League of these leagues might come into being, constituting a Union of Mankind, which should be continued far into the future, under the one bond,—Human Right. But, even though such World League be an unrealizable dream, there is, he believed, certainly a most urgent need that the proclaimed Alliance then forming among the great States of Europe should be moved by the principle of Right; that its Nations should secure the dominion of Right and of Justice among themselves; and that, by their united power, they should resist injustice when issuing from any of their Members against other peoples, and should withstand any assaults made from without upon any of themselves or upon their Alliance.

MEANING OF "RIGHT."

Just what Krause intended to set forth, in making "Right" the supreme aim and regulative power in all that the proposed League might be and do, becomes clear in reading his later elaborated description. But it

is sufficient to say for him here, that, in his "Philosophy of Right," he defined "Right" as "the organic whole of all the outer and inner conditions which determine rational human life;" that is, "whatever is necessary to the full accomplishment of human destiny, individual and social." More popularly put, Krause meant that in "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness;" or in "personal security, personal freedom, physical and mental, and in safety of private property," lie man's "natural, and inalienable rights"; also, that, included in, and conditioned by these rights as "absolute," there are "relative rights" such as are specified and assured by Social Custom and National Law.

EQUALITY AMONG THE LEAGUED NATIONS.

Starting from this fundamental and regulative principle, Krause claimed that the essential initial condition distinctive of the proposed League, in order to assure real worth to the League, should be *recognition of all its component Nations as fully equal Members*; as having, severally, equal right to existence as self-dependent States, developing under the specific forms of Government each had chosen. All the component Governments in the League, therefore, should be so constituted that they would exercise, reciprocally, an acknowledgment of this right.

a. Restraint of a Nation under International

Right.—There is, consequently, an inherent right among all the Nations to resist and to restrain, as far as need be, any nationality which antagonizes the rights of another Nation. The leagued Nations may rightfully punish a Nation which makes itself a criminal against other peoples. But this right *reaches only so far as Right itself goes*. They may punish ; but they may not destroy.

b. International Respect.—Right is in accord with ethical or social freedom ; consequently, the innermost strength of the proposed League would lie in its recognition of the individual freedom of every people, and *in its respect for their peculiar national genius*.

c. Right of International Culture.—In the exercise of a morally free development among its constituent peoples, however, a true international League would be justified in *promoting a general, rational system of culture or education, by means of instruction and by legislation*.

d. Equality of National and of Personal Ethics.—The proposed League, moreover, should avoid any acknowledgment of the *ignominious and disgraceful assumption that Governments and Sovereigns are possessed of another kind of morality* than that of individual human beings ; of an ethics peculiarly their own ; that, in the political domain, lying and fraud are allowable ; and that Right extends only as far as there is Might.

e. Publicity in International Policy.—The morally fine righteousness of the developing League should be served under the greatest possible *publicity*,—free from all craftiness and deceit.

f. No International "Guardianship."—Further, the League should not acknowledge for itself, or for other Nations, the plundering, or the destruction of any People under *the pretence of guardianship*. In its plenitude of power the League should guarantee and secure fundamental Right for all the Nations. It should seek to make them, each, more and more independent of chance and ill-luck, and of the magnitude of numbers.

EACH NATION A SOVEREIGN WITHIN THE LEAGUE.

The States constituting the proposed League should also have as inalienable a sovereignty, independence, and autonomy in the promotion of their particular Nationalities, as that which is generally recognized when limited alliances are made among Peoples and Princes for the purposes of a *particular war*, or for the encouragement of a *special kind of commerce*. The League that is needed should be nothing other than an Alliance of free and independent States, all bound together as pledged for the furtherance and protection of Human Right.

AN ORGANIC FEDERATION FOR THE LEAGUE.

This League should be an *organic* federative State, having within, an equilibrium of its component Members, harmoniously co-operating, much as in a sound body the associated organs work together. A *despotic* State has unity among its Members, but there is no freedom for them in their co-operation. Arbitrariness in the Government, or the will of the despot dominating the central or head State, is the law, and not Right. Such a League can have no morally free, co-operative development for its life.

KANT'S ESSAY "ON EVERLASTING PEACE."

Yet further, the now promised League should not be formed with merely a covenant such as that which Kant advocated in 1795, in his essay, "On Everlasting Peace." *Kant's purpose was only to ward off War*, by seeking an expanding Alliance among nations directed against international aggression and like evils. The League that should now be sought, however, should aim, *above all, at the promotion of a sense of Right, throughout its allied Nations*. With the supremacy of this sense, a true Alliance would be secured, and a lasting peace would, of necessity, follow.

Just so long as there is an imperfect sense of Right among the peoples of Mankind, there will be

wrong done; then, uprisings against wrong aroused; and, consequently, war.

UNIVERSAL RIGHT THE BOND OF THE LEAGUE.

Also, just as the purpose of the proposed League should not be only the warding off of war, *so its uniting aim should not be that of any other partial interest*. It should not be, for instance, an Alliance for the promotion only of Commerce;—either to secure its freedom or to advance specialized commercial privileges. The proposed League should be an *Alliance in the service of Right only, by means of a practical comprehension of universal Human Right*. Therein, all separate human interests with which Right, as such, is concerned would, of course, be included. Naturally, therefore, a common support of War would be given, when war could not be avoided; a common advancement of Industry and Trade secured; also, the care and nurture of all the common interests of Science, of Art and of other Social concerns.

The real scope of the League should be *the whole domain of Right, but of the domain of Right only*; and it should affect all human relations only so far that, by it, they would be given direction toward a full realization of the life of Humanity. Thereby, consequently, there would tend toward realization, a self-dependent, individual, and therewith an all-sided, harmonious development for the State;

also, for the Church and all social organizations ; and for Science and for Art ; also for the Family ; and, in fact, for all agencies that serve human intercourse.

He who demands of the State more than service to Right would take from it, and, therewith, from all other human institutions, that which gives enduring power and assures lasting harmony and peace. For this reason the now hoped for League of States *could not be made secure through any kind of Ecclesiastical Government, nor by any Speculative System as such, nor through the supremacy of any Family, or of any Race, or of any one Nation.*

The proposed International League, would be formed, inevitably, through the alliance of Nations which are now dependent, some of them, upon Church creeds and ordinances ; and some upon Families ; and some upon Races. All these relationships, in accordance with the principle of the assurance of a free development, should remain undisturbed by the League. If, in one State, there is Catholicism ; in another, Evangelical Christianity ; or yet in another, no Christianity ; or, if one State is a monarchy ; another a republic ; another an aristocracy, the all-including League should not be concerned with these particular facts, except to assure to each separate State the fullest freedom to perfect itself, within, by means of its own choosing ; and to strive in its own ways toward a more just State government ; toward a purer Religion ;

toward a higher Science and Art ; and to become an example, by fidelity in its own ways, to every State not yet included within the League.

FREEDOM FOR EACH NATION TO JOIN, OR TO
WITHDRAW FROM, THE LEAGUE.

Of course, the task of so arranging the proposed League of States that they would all be united, purely and wholly, on behalf of Human Right, is seemingly very difficult, when all the differences existing among them are considered :—the differences of their religious creeds and practice ; of their forms of government, and of the many other functions of their culture. But the difficulty would be greatly lessened were it expressly understood that every State, just as it would be enabled to *join the League by free choice, could, also, by as free a choice withdraw from it.* The States would, thereby, avoid the vain play that is now seen in the so-called “everlasting” treaties ; agreements which are almost always broken as soon as possibly contrary advantages appear. Under a perfectly free choice, the leagued States would naturally be impelled towards that which is really essential to the League, in order that, thereby, they might give the League a better and surer support.

The promised League of States should be a *free* union that it might the better meet the idea and the ideal of Humanity. It would thus be placed *in accord*

with the historical conditions of human evolution. Human history shows a steady approach toward such union of Mankind ; an advance ever working within the course of events even when, upon the surface, mere passion seems to have sway.

Also, *such freedom in the Alliance appears to be the only means of international union that is in accord with Right*, particularly now, when there is so strong a striving toward securing a political equilibrium in Europe ; an equilibrium sought under an avowal to prevent again the suppression of any single European Nationality, and to convince any awakening aggressor among them of the impossibility of the success of his criminal lust. This intended political equilibrium is in harmony with a socially free evolution of Humanity. For the support of this striving the proposed League of States is fundamentally justified.

A despotic federative State is directly in opposition to Human Right. It is almost *inevitably through Revolution that, under such a State, a nation is impelled to seek its own preservation.*

HISTORICAL JUSTIFICATION OF THE PROPOSED LEAGUE FOR HUMAN RIGHT.

It may, therefore, be held as essentially and rationally true ; also as a fact drawn from history, that Nations are justified in forming free leagues on

behalf of Human Right only ; moreover, that such leagues are valid under every possible condition of Humanity ; and that, especially now, the first and most imperative need in the interests of Human Right in Europe, and, mediately, throughout Mankind, is just such a League as has been here proposed.

* * * *

Having stated these conditions as the guide of his political ideals, Krause saw in the then proposed and nominally initiated Alliance of Europe's leading Powers,—Germany, Russia, the Austrian States, England and Spain,—a combination with a physical might which would enable those States to maintain a League, such as he had conceived, against all possible external assault. And should France, which had been under Napoleon Bonaparte, the all-dreaded aggressor against human freedom, also come into the proposed League, so much the better for France and, thereby, for Mankind. The love of conquest, so long making that land the fear of the Nations, would, by that act, be given up, and a happy future assured.

A League of the Nations in Europe such as that proposed would tend to attract peoples of the other lands of the world. Thereby the beginning of the longed for peace and prosperity of all Mankind would be hopefully made.

The dawn of the Sovereignty of Right among all peoples would have appeared with the coming of

this first great International League ; and the strife that had lasted throughout the past generation, because of an instinctive defense of a higher conception and enjoyment of Human Right, would have come to an end in a peaceful co-operation among the Allied Nations ;—a gain realized as the goal and the prize of the conflict through which they had struggled.

PART THIRD.

FUNDAMENTAL ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT FOR THE LEAGUE.

Having elaborated what he was convinced are the conditions under which the proposed League of nations should be formed, Krause ventured upon a definite statement of the main Articles which he believed should be embodied in its Constitution.

As a wise student of human nature, and as a scholar having comprehensive historical knowledge, he could not in all probability have supposed that the leaders of the International Alliance, then apparently coming into being, even under the solemn announcement they were making as "The Holy Alliance," would accept his Proposal in its full purport. But he had had his vision ; and he believed that he should set forth his ideal as he was persuaded it should be realized. Therefore, the following series of Articles,

stating the main factors needed for the perfecting of the then developing International Alliance, came from Krause's pen.

I.

OBJECT :—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRINCIPLE
OF RIGHT.

The States which are entering this forming League of Nations should unite for the purpose of making authoritative among themselves, in its complete comprehension, the Principle of Right.

II.

FUNDAMENTAL LAW FOR THE UNION.

Consequently, these States should agree, first, to formulate and to sanction a Code of National Right ; then, to organize their own relationships in accordance with this Code ;—seeking to develop this Code continuously by means of common co-operation ; to maintain and to protect it, in all its parts, against inner and outer attack ; through watchfulness and care, and by debate, and, if need be, by the legitimate use of force.

The chief Articles in this Body of Legislation should provide for :—

a. Equality of the States. Every separate people or State is a fully equal, equally justified, member or " person " in this League for National Right. Each State should equally enjoy its rights, and should,

therewith, receive the protection of the League, independently of the numbers in its population, or of the magnitude and position of its territory. The States composing the League should be bound together as thoroughly, equally free Sovereignties. Their Governments as such, should all be of equal rank ; all equally justified ; all equal before the law and the judgment of the federated Union.

The Government of the League, as such, therefore, could never be personally monarchic ; but only so far a monarchy as the League would govern itself by the unity and equality of its Law.

b. Reciprocal Hospitality. The States of the League should reciprocally guarantee among themselves, wholly equal rights in the possession of their own territories, and they should maintain a mutual hospitality of intercourse.

Also, they should assure, for all, fully equal rights to common waterways ; to all interior lakes and seas ; and to the Ocean so far as the power of the League might extend.

c. Voluntary Association. The association of each people, or Nation with the League should be wholly voluntary ; and just as voluntary should be its release from the Union. But each of the Nations should be required to fulfil whatever obligations relating to national rights with which it had originally bound itself to the League. The League, however, should

not have power to exclude any of its Members, who had violated the fundamental principle of Agreement of the Union, except in consequence of a judgment given in accord with the League's original Covenant.

d. Rule for the Invitation of non-Union States, into the League. The States in the League might invite or induce other States into association with them. But this inducement should be made only under conditions of freedom ; never violating another people's free-will, or disturbing their social development ; never putting them under guardianship in the name of Right, or compelling them by force to enter the League.

The States of the League should concede to all other peoples their inherent, natural Right, wholly apart from a consideration of their membership or non-membership in the Union.

e. Fidelity in Allegiance a Regulative Principle. The peoples united in this League should give themselves,—wholly without consideration of compulsory right, or of self-advantage, or of defense under peril, or of any impulse to revenge,—to the furtherance and protection of all their rights.

They should acknowledge, as unconditionally valid, the legal, judicial decisions of the League, given by a common Court, concerning any matter of dispute relating to Right or matters of Justice. And they should promise to accept such judgment without

reserve, let the dispute be with a State that is within the League or outside it.

Consequent upon observance of this obligation, a lasting peace would prevail among the States of the League, as such. No separate State would initiate war with a people outside the Union. There would be no appeal made beyond the judgment of the League Court.

A State that would not accept the decision of the League Court would, by its own act, become an outer State in relation to the League.

f. Pledge of the Union for Self-Protection. The States of the League, further, should be pledged to assure, to protect and to defend, with their united power, all the rights of the several States and the rights of the League itself against every other State or coalition of States.

Also, they should be pledged to conclude and to ratify special defensive and offensive alliances, in case of war, in accordance with the fundamental condition of the League and of its component States; and with regard to the circumstances existing at the time.

g. Authority for War or Peace. But only the whole League should have authority to declare war, or to make peace; and it should do this only by public proclamation in the name of the League.

III.

THE LEAGUE COURT.

The contracting, allied States should create a League Court. This tribunal should pass judgment in freedom, in accordance with the Legal Code of the leagued Nations,—such as has been indicated in preceding articles,—following an open and regular investigation, consequent upon formal complaint and a considered defense.

A judgment issued in the name of the League should be a *judicium parium*.

The Court should not impose punishment. It should lay before a State under judgment the conditions to which it must conform if it would remain a member of the League. In case of refusal of compliance with these conditions, exclusion from the League would follow.

IV.

UNITED GUARANTEE FOR CODE AND COURT.

The leagued States should guarantee, reciprocally,—with their united powers pledged,—the fulfilment of the requirements of their legal Code, and of the judgments of the League Court.

V.

THE FEDERAL COUNCIL.

The League should create, for the making of its

Legislation and for the care of all relationships arising under National Right, a permanent Federal Council.

This Council should deliberate over the farther development of the League, within the whole province of National Right.

The Council should make and publish new laws and put them into operation.

The Government of the League should lie in the Federal Council, only,

The Council should consist of the sovereign Personalities of the supreme Government of each of the States of the League : that is, of the ruling persons, princes or nobles, or the presidents of the States.

And these Representatives, either in person, or by ambassadors having full powers, should continuously appear in the sessions of the Council and serve the interests of the League.

But each State should be allowed to have only one Representative in the Council, or, at most, only one vote.

As members of the Council, all Representatives should have equal right ; none given preference, whatever names, or signs of distinction they might otherwise have,—no *primes inter pares*. Therefore, the Federal Council should have no President.

In the private relations of the Governments included within the League, there might be orders of rank and preferences of honorary titles.

Also, the several States, as separate States, might maintain relations with other States by the service of Ambassadors and like officials.

VI.

PRIVILEGES AND DUTIES OF THE
LEAGUE COUNCIL.

The Federal Council might announce to all Nations that the aim of the League is the establishment of a perfected dominion of Human Right among all the earth's peoples:—that it seeks to realize an ideal of international justice; consequently, to bring about the cessation of war; indeed, to advance a higher development for all human affairs and institutions so far as they can be advanced under the conditions of Human Right.

Therefore, the Council could regard as within its province, the hearing and testing of all propositions for the betterment of the separate States and of the League, as such; also for the advancement of Science and of Art, and of Education, and of Religion;—all these Social means, however, only so far as they could be promoted in harmony with Right and in accord with the free moral evolution of men and of Humanity.

It might be within the province of the Council, also, to spread knowledge of generally useful agencies

among the States; and then, after a wide acceptance of them, to introduce them into the Federal Legislation.

VII.

CONDITIONS OF UNIVERSAL AND OF LOCAL LEGISLATION BY THE FEDERAL COUNCIL.

The decisions made by the Federal Council, having an all-inclusive effect, should be given the force of Law only by the unanimous consent of the States.

But if, in consequence of debate over such matters as those affecting only single States, a division of judgment should occur, then, so far as the fundamental Covenant of the Federal League would not be harmed, the separate States might follow their own wishes.

In case, however, the division should occur over questions, or matters, which radically concern the League, as such, the party being in the majority might propose to the minority the alternative choice of accepting the majority vote, or of giving up membership in the League. In case the minority would not concede to the majority, the Council might confer over the question,—Whether it were not better to postpone the whole matter under debate, rather than that the dissenting Member should resign from the League.

VIII.

STATUS OF THE OFFICE-HOLDING PERSONNEL
OF THE LEAGUE.

In this eighth Article Krause dealt with the status of the working personnel, or office-holders, needed for the care of the various Departments required for the League's work. He gave a series of practical suggestions that need not be repeated here. He added, however, that this Administrative, or Executive body should be without any legislative authority whatever. Such authority, in the first and last instance, should lie wholly in the Federal Council.

IX.

SPECIFIC DEFINITION OF THE OBJECT OF THE
LEAGUE.

The proposed League of European Nations, continued Krause, should be understood throughout the world as being, above all, and essentially through all, just a League for Human Right,—as being, in fact, only that.

Krause would have had the League, then forming, and soon after known as "The Holy Alliance," make proclamation, of being resolved to perpetuate itself as proclaimed; to defend itself against all assaults from within and from without, and not to acknowledge for itself, or for any of its constituent Members, any outer

protectorate or guardianship ; resolutely determined to carry its purpose forward for itself, but, at the same time, declaring that every other people or Nation on the planet is a brother-people, a justified citizen of the Realm of Humanity upon the Earth, be it near or far, little or big, rich or poor, mighty or weak, high or low in culture.

Also, Krause would have had the League so disposed as to offer itself as Mediator or Arbitrator in all international differences within its own borders or even outside them ; and to become a friendly Guide for the world's Nations ; seeking to prevent the incoming among them of the differences which only the forces of war could end.

It should be clearly seen, in doing this, said Krause, that the League would aim at no farther influence upon States outside its membership than that of a helpful sympathy and counsel. In this way the League would gain more than through a show of physical power. A favored People that would bear itself justly and kindly towards a People less favored would be readily and gratefully accepted as educator and sponsor.

Moreover, the League, to be what it ought to be, should clearly and positively renounce every attempt to gain territory or population through fraud or war, either for itself or for any of *its component States*.

Also, that it should never acknowledge Might as the basis of Right.

X.—XI.

THE LEAGUE CAPITAL AND LANGUAGE.

In these two Articles, Krause discussed the question of the Capital to be chosen, and the language to be used for the common needs of the proposed League. Under the circumstances existing a hundred years ago, Berlin and the German language seemed to be most convenient agencies for serving these needs.

But, said this far-seeing philosopher and social idealist, in closing his prescient essay, the aim of the Proposal he had elaborated had been simply to set forth in its chief features the idea that should be the motive force of the European League of States which just then seemed to have become possible of realization.

"I developed the idea, philosophically and historically" he wrote, "a year ago; but I think it to be my duty now, before my manuscript can appear in full, to try to win the attention and the consideration of contemporaries for this momentous opportunity, as at present offered to the Nations.

"May the Proposal here made be read and approved by the Princes and their Counsellors who are in possession of the power and the station requisite to give it a practical fulfilment.

KARL CHRISTIAN FREDERICH KRAUSE."

"Berlin,

May, 24, 1814."

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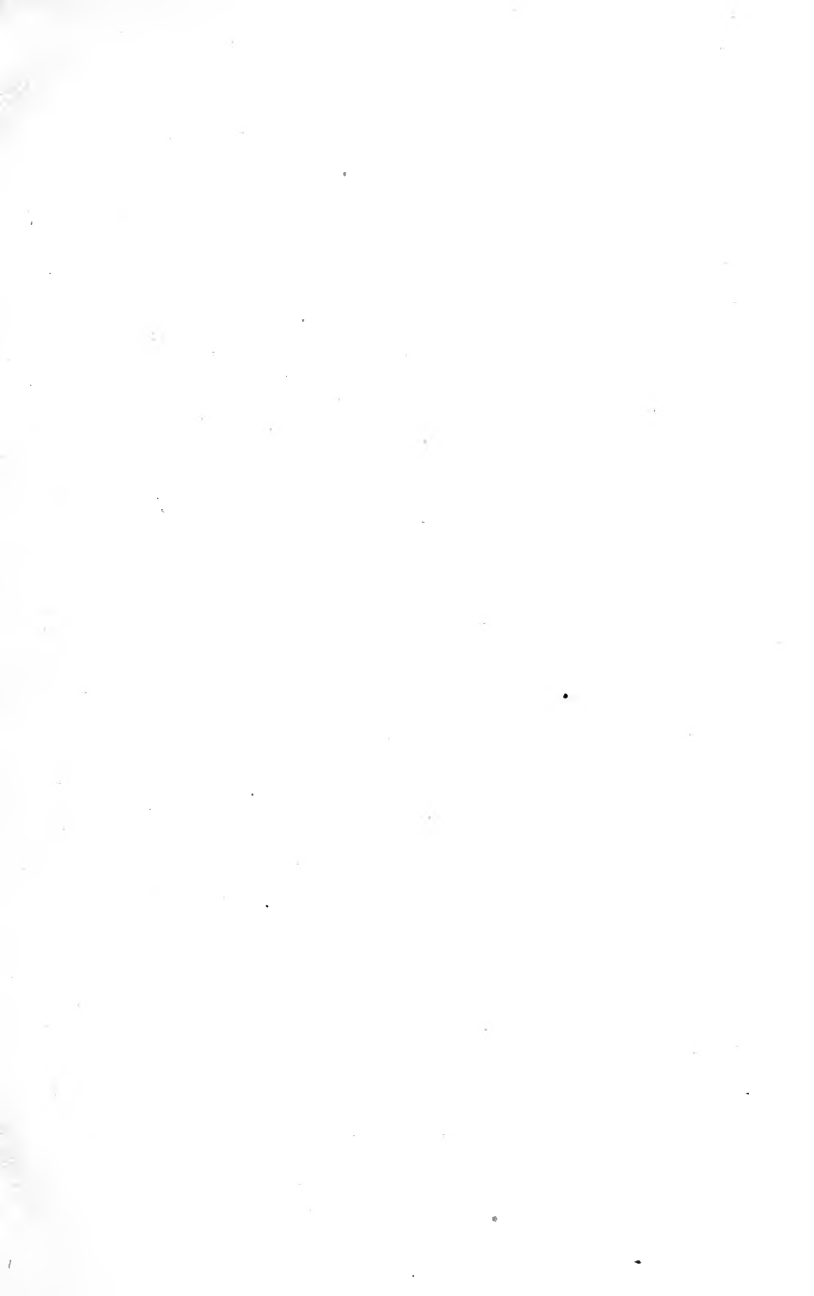
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